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FACULTY COMMITTEE ON EXTENSION

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Public Discussion and Debate

INTRODUCTION

Public discussion in the form of debating at the University of North Carolina as a means of training young men for citizenship, dates back to the year of the University's opening, 1795. From that early beginning to the present, through the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies then founded, the University, with full knowledge of the tremendous good growing out of such discussion, has jealously fostered this form of intellectual activity, with the result that Vance, Aycock, McIver, Alderman, Joyner, and hundreds of other North Carolinians trained in the halls of these Societies, have gone out into the State to think rightly concerning its many problems and to mould and touch its life at its very heart.

Fully alive to the vital importance of arousing intelligent interest in the questions affecting modern life, the University has in more recent years, through its graduates, its instructors, and its library, attempted to extend public discussion throughout the State at large, especially in the secondary schools. Graduates have organized literary societies in the schools in which they have taught, professors in the University have answered communications received from the societies organized, and the library has loaned reference material from its shelves to aid in the preparation of debates. A still more significant step in this direction was taken in 1912-1913 when, under the leadership of the Societies, the High School Debating Union was established, and more than one hundred schools were brought together to participate in a State-wide debating contest. Again this year, the lines of organization have been further extended so that the Union's membership has been doubled and the value of debating to pupils and communities alike has been sharply called to the minds of the people of North Carolina.

PURPOSE

Wendell Phillips once said "Agitation is education. Agitation is marshalling the conscience of a nation to mould its laws." The stimulation of agitation in this sense, stimulation of public discussion, either through school debating societies or civic clubs, whereby the youth and adults of North Carolina may be brought to see North Carolina problems in their true light, is the purpose of this manual. In the case of the schools it is intended that the handbook shall be used in promoting discussions that shall be more or less formal. In the case of civic clubs of any nature whatsoever, it is intended that it shall be used to suggest informal discussion of problems which affect the every day life of the community in which the club exists. Discussion of this sort will prove fully as effective as formal debate in arousing interest and serving the ends of ultimate truth. It should be remembered

that it is not the primary object of debate to train pupils in parliamentary procedure and oratorical speech-making, valuable as these may be, but rather to cultivate in both the youth and the adult the development of real civic opinion by means of a sincere search for truth.

SCHOOLS AND CIVIC CLUBS

While the handbook is primarily intended as a guide for use by the schools of the State and for those especially which have membership in the High School Debating Union, it is also intended for every society or organization in the State which may wish to discuss public questions intelligently and thereby promote the public good. Its arrangement, content, and suggested methods of work, with slight modifications, are suited to the needs of Farmers' Union Locals, Women's Clubs, and other similar organizations, and the University hopes that it may be used in this wider sphere.

CONTENTS

The handbook is divided into six sections. The first discusses the importance of debate; the second suggests methods of preparation for public discussion; the third contains a number of queries with briefs, outlines, and references; the fourth gives a further list of queries for which no briefs, outlines, references, etc., are furnished, but for which limited reference material may be borrowed from the University Library or complete package libraries from the North Carolina Library Commission; the fifth division contains a list of debate handbooks and aids more extended than this one and gives sources from which additional information may be secured; the sixth presents a model constitution, by-laws, and rules of order. These models, to be used in organizing new societies or conducting previously organized societies, are based in the main on the constitutions, etc., of the Dialectic and Philanthrouic Societies of the University.

While this handbook is necessarily limited in scope, it is hoped that it may meet many of the actual needs of the State. In its preparation the editor has been assisted by Prof. N. W. Walker, State Inspector of High Schools for North Carolina; Prof. G. M. McKie, Associate Professor of Public Speaking in the University, who prepared the article on "Preparation and Argumentation;" and Mr. E. R. Rankin, Secretary of the High School Debating Union of North Carolina, author of the model "Constitution and By-Laws." The editor is also greatly indebted to Messrs. Clarence H. Poe, R. F. Beasley, W. H. Swift, J. S. Holmes, F. P. Graham, E. J. Justice, Professors C. L. Coon, W. H. Hand, E. C. Branson, Drs. J. H. Pratt, W. S. Rankin, P. W. Covington, Rev. G. W. Lay, Mrs. T. W. Lingle, Miss H. M. Berry, and others for the suggestion of subjects relating directly to North Carolina life.

LOUIS R. WILSON.

The Importance of Discussion and Debate

HIGH SCHOOL LITERARY SOCIETIES

Every high school in North Carolina should have a literary society. Such a society trains its members in effective public speaking; makes them at ease before an audience; familiarizes them with correct parliamentary procedure; teaches them to think rightly; gives those who are pupils an opportunity to apply the history, English, and other subjects which they study daily; causes them to read outside of their assigned school work; leads to independent, interesting investigation; arouses school spirit; and adds tremendously to the social life of the community. If the society centers its work on the problems of the community of which it is a part, it sets the whole population to thinking, and out of that springs a higher and happier daily life.

ESSENTIALS IN ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE

No fixed rules can be laid down for the conduct of every society, but certain fundamental principles must be observed.

1. The society should have the constant, sympathetic interest and supervision of the teachers. Its direction should not be left to a teacher who reluctantly assumes the work as an added burden. A principal can well afford to give his best teacher one period less a day in order to make a success, not a farce, of a voluntary society of twenty boys. The wise direction of a society is a far more difficult task than class-room teaching. It is also richer in opportunities. Take such a matter as the choice of questions and the wording of propositions. It is of the utmost importance that the proposition be worded carefully. Nothing kills initial interest in discussion so easily as the choice of trivial, worthless, or inappropriate subjects. This is but one essential of good debating for which the society advisor must assume responsibility.

2. Separate societies should be formed for the boys and girls unless the number of pupils is too small to justify them. Joint meetings of the boys' and girls' societies might be held two or three times a year, but not oftener.

3. Meetings for the boys should be held preferably at night. Local conditions may make this inadvisable. Occasional opportunities should be given for the repetition of the best debates, declamations, literary exercises, and reports before the whole school. Inter-society and inter-scholastic debates will necessarily be held less frequently, and the participants will be chosen with great care and thoroughly trained. The public should always be invited in the case of these special meetings.

4. The society should have a comparatively short season, divided into two periods of eight to twelve meetings each, the first beginning after the fall term has been well started and the second ending sufficiently early so as not to interfere with the closing examinations and commencement exercises. This will insure interest and snap. An inter-society commencement debate can be held if desirable after the regular work of the society has closed.

5. Programs should be planned carefully by the teacher advisor and the society committee, and the programs should be posted for meetings several weeks in advance. An effort should be made to have each member take part in a definite number of meetings a year. For example, each member should participate in two debates, two informal discussions, write an essay, and give a declamation in each half year. Whatever the program, it should be well thought out and carried through in strict parliamentary order.

6. The query debated should be carefully selected. Let it relate, in so far as it can, to the life of the community and the State. One of the chief objects of the local society is to train the members to study and investigate vital questions with a view to local improvement. Discuss bond issues for good roads, whole-time public health officers, the salary versus fee system of paying county officers, etc., instead of such questions as the retention of the Philippine Islands.

7. Investigations for material should be made first from facts and things common to the every day life of the members. Let each debater observe and study local forces, conditions, and tendencies. Then let him turn to the school or public library or to the material sent out by the University Library, the North Carolina Library Commission, or other loaning agencies, in order to extend his observation and check up his conclusions in the light of wider information. If need be, members of the society can well afford to subscribe for several magazines which treat the subjects under discussion and can have their friends in the community make clippings on the subjects from the daily newspapers.

8. In presenting arguments for and against a proposition, let the members of the opposing sides divide the question in such a way that the second and third speakers follow in regular logical sequence after the first speaker. Let each member make a definite contribution to the argument. Let the team work be consistent and cumulative.

9. The final essential is downright, persistent, hard work. Every member should put forth his best effort. Development comes in no other way and every member should strive after the fullest development possible.

CIVIC CLUBS

Public discussion in North Carolina during the past decade has undergone a most desirable change. Emphasis hitherto placed largely on things political and national, is being placed on questions affecting

the every day life of North Carolina. To make this change even more far-reaching, every North Carolina community should resolve itself into a community club and devote itself seriously to the quiet, persistent study of its economic, social, educational, and religious problems.

The plan of organization and the method of procedure in such clubs should be simpler than that of the school societies. Their object should be open, frank, earnest discussion. The building up of a strong constructive community spirit and community interest should be a second object. Out of such discussions characterized by such a spirit, will inevitably come the solution of problems upon which the welfare of the community absolutely depends.

If a place of meeting is the only obstacle in the way of the formation of such a club, the local school house can well be used for this purpose. It ought to be widely used and made the real social center of the community.

For guidance in the formation of such clubs, this handbook, with slight modifications, may be used. For material for use in such discussions, the Bureau of Extension of the University, the North Carolina Library Commission, and State offices can be called upon. The State press, especially *The Progressive Farmer* and *The State Journal,* will also be found of inestimable value in furnishing weekly discussions of the topics which it will be desirable to make the subject of these meetings.

Preparation and Argumentation

THE PROPOSITION

The beginning of argument, since its purpose is to prove something, must be a proposition,—that is, a clear definite statement of what is to be proved.

This proposition has three essential qualities.

First, it must be clear. No ambiguous words must be allowed to confuse the hearer as to the real meaning of the speaker. No argument can be satisfactory to the fairminded hearer that depends for its success on the interpretation of ambiguous words. The speaker who bases his argument on the generally accepted meaning of the terms of his proposition goes far toward winning the confidence of his audience. In a recent debate on the proposition, The Federal Government Should Retain the Forest and Mineral Lands Now in Its Possession, the Negative won mainly because the Affirmative defined the word "retain" as "control," the Negative argument being based on the generally accepted definition, "hold in possession."

Second, the proposition should be limited to one central idea. It is extremely difficult to prove two different propositions in the course of a single argument. The confusion liable to result from a double proposition may be realized by taking for illustration some such proposition as, The State Should Impose an Income Tax, and the County Assessors Should Make the Returns for their Respective Counties. It is quite conceivable that the Affirmative might show that the State should impose an income tax, but that the Negative might show with equal clearness that the State, instead of relying on county officers, should appoint its own officers to handle the tax.

Third, the proposition should be so phrased as to give the Affirmative the burden of proof. This statement means simply that the Negative shall not be required either to defend that which has not been attacked, or to attack that which has not been proposed. On the question, for example, "Congress should not impose an income tax," the negative phrasing forces those advocating an income tax to take the Negative side of the debate,—a situation that cannot but be confusing to an audience, and indeed to the debaters themselves. In debate the first speaker should have something to do, either to attack something that already exists or to propose something new. The proposition, then, should propose to establish something or to abolish something. It should not be negatively phrased.

ANALYSIS

Having a clear, single, affirmative proposition, the debater should next proceed to find out just what it comprehends,—just what is in it. The meaning of a proposition depends, not on the dictionary definitions of its terms, but on what the proposition as a whole means; and this meaning may best be found by answering the following questions: Why are we interested in this question today? What has been the history of this question from its beginning up to the special point of interest in it today? What is contended by each side? and, as a result of contrasting the contentions, What are the Special Issues, the detailed questions on which the settlement of the main question depends?

This process of analysis may be divided into six steps: Origin of the Question, History of the Question, Definition of Terms, Clash of Opinion, Elimination of Admitted, Waived, or Extraneous Matter, and Statement of the Issues. These six steps form the Introduction of a typical brief:

I. The answer to the question why the subject is of interest today throws light on the proposition because the particular phase of the subject that is in the public mind may be a very different one from the phase that was presented a few years, or even months, before. Mr. R. M. Alden cites an interesting example of a sudden change in the meaning of a proposition.* In 1895 two college societies had arranged to hold a debate on the question, Resolved, That the Foreign Policy of President Cleveland Should be Approved.† President's Cleveland's foreign policy had been marked by conservatism; but shortly before the debate was to take place, the President issued his Venezuelan message. This message seemed to the debaters too radical to harmonize with the general line of their arguments, and they gave up the debate. It will be noted that the immediate origin of the question is the latest step in the history of the question, and in the case cited by Mr. Alden, an entirely new question was projected by the addition of a new step in the history of Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy.

II. The next step after finding out why the question is of interest at the present time, is to answer the inquiry, How did this question come to be what it is,—or in other words, What is its History? The discussion of the Immediate Origin has shown that a question may be materially changed within a very short time. The History of the Question helps to throw light on the proposition by showing its progress through its various manifestations. The history of State rights is a good illustration of the change in the meaning of a question. At one time State rights meant the right of equal representation in the Senate; at another, the right to decide the slavery question; an another, the right to secede from the Union; while the present stage in its history

* Art of Debate, p. 16.
† Note that the phrasing puts the Affirmative on the defensive.

is concerned with the claim of the right to control natural resources within the borders of the State.

III. The Definition of terms has been left for the third step because very often the Immediate Origin and the History offer sufficient definition of the terms of the proposition. Whenever they do not, the terms should be clearly defined,—not according to a dictionary, but according to the present aspect of the question in the public mind. A question may be defined in several ways: from authority, by eliminating possibly confusing ideas, by contrast, or by comparison. After an acceptable meaning is obtained, then the question should be restated in terms of the definition.

IV. The most important step in the process of analysis is the Clash of Opinion—the setting of all that is contended on one side over against all that is contended on the other. It is only from the clash of opinion that the Special Issues can be derived, and the derivation of the Special Issues is the chief purpose of the process of analysis. In this clash, whenever an affirmative contention and a negative contention meet squarely, the result is an issue; and whenever one side makes a contention that is not met squarely or admitted by the other side, or that is not waived for the purpose of debate, the result is an issue. Suppose, for example, that the Affirmative has three contentions, A, B, and C, and that the Negative has four contentions, A. B. C. and D. Suppose that the first three contentions on the one side meet squarely the first three on the other; three issues would result. But there is left the fourth contention of the Negative. If this contention is not admitted it raises an issue just as surely as does a contention that is met squarely. From this clash of opinion, then, there would rise four issues.

V. The fifth step of analysis is the elimination of admitted or waived matter. Whenever a contention made by one side can be admitted by the other, time and energy are saved. Sometimes, too, a contention raises a question that it would be futile to debate. The question may be one that only the future can answer. It may be a question of present expediency when the real debate is over the principle involved. In any case such a question must be eliminated along with any admitted matter before the definite issues can be derived.

VI. Having cleared away all matter that may be admitted or that is irrelevant, we have left several questions that rose directly out of the clash of the contentions. These questions are the Special Issues. The importance of the Special Issues cannot be overestimated. They are the questions that must be answered before the proposition can be said to be proved or disproved. To find them, as has been said before, is the main purpose of the process of analysis. To find all of them is the only safety for the debater. A few years ago, in a debate on the proposition, "The Federal Government Should Impose an Inheritance Tax," the Affirmative based its whole argument on the two issues:

"Does the Federal Government Need Money?" and "Is the Inheritance Tax a Good Way to Raise Money?" The Negative replied that even if the Federal Government did need money, and the inheritance tax were a good way to raise money, these questions did not affect the main point at issue, which was, "Is the Right to Impose an Inheritance Tax a Function of the Federal Government or of the State?" The Affirmative, having failed to anticipate the most fundamental issue, lost the debate.

PROOF

Having analyzed the proposition and found the fundamental questions, on the answers to which the answer to the main question depends, we next take up the work of proving the proposition.

Proof, or evidence, is of two sorts: direct, or testimonial, and indirect, or reasoning. The first sort is the establishing of facts by means of experts, or authorities; and the second sort is reasoning on those facts and coming to a conclusion in regard to them.

Facts are established by reference to authority, and the strength of this part of evidence depends on the strength of the authority. Every authority should be tested by the following tests at least: Is he a real authority, an expert in his line? Is he honest and unprejudiced? Is his testimony consistent with other known facts?

Indirect evidence, or reasoning, is of two general sorts: that in which from observation of a number of individuals we come to a conclusion about the whole class,—as that green apple is sour, this green apple is sour, the other green apple is sour, therefore all green apples are sour; and that in which we apply the characteristics of a class to a new specimen in order to include it in the class,—as all green apples are sour, this apple is green, therefore this apple is sour. Whenever possible, however, a causal relation should be established between the facts and the conclusion. Otherwise, it is possible that the conclusion may be due to chance or to other causal facts. For example, a speaker recently called attention to the large proportion of lawyers in the Senate of the United States and contended that the only inference that could be drawn was that they were there to represent the Trusts. Of course for that condition there are other more probable causes, such as the superior training of lawyers for legislation.

Two of the more common fallacies, or gaps in argument are: Begging the Question, in which what is to be proved is assumed to be so; and Ignoring the Question, in which the speaker usually either talks on a side issue or shifts his ground.

REFUTATION

The best preparation for refutation is a thorough knowledge of the question. (See discussion of the Special Issues.) Most refutation is scrappy; an effort is made to attack individual points. Whenever

possible, principles and not particular statements should be attacked. The debater must realize that his time for refutation is short and that he should attack the important points in his opponent's argument. These points are of course the Special Issues laid down by that opponent. Unsupported assertions, unrecognized authorities, and gaps in the logic of the opponent's argument should be pointed out as weaknesses and contrasted with the strength, if strength there be, in the debater's own argument.

NOTES FROM READING

Elsewhere in this Bulletin suggestions are made as to sources of material. Just a word as to the use of these sources. In order to understand the question, to make a real analysis, the reading must be fair. Both sides must be given a fair hearing. Copious notes must be taken on the reading; but these notes should be of ideas rather than of words, except where authorities are to be quoted. Slips of paper or cards should be used rather than a note book. Use a card for each topic. Indicate at the top of the card the main point or issue and the sub-topic to which the evidence belongs. Make an exact reference to the source at the time. This habit will save much time and trouble. Credit should be given for quoted material.

Queries, Briefs, Outlines and References

RECALL OF JUDGES

Specimen brief from the Debater's Handbook Series

Resolved, That judges should be made subject to recall.

INTRODUCTION

I. It is asserted that many evils exist in our judiciary system.
   A. Our courts have been severely criticized.
      1. By members of the bench and bar.
      2. In the press and on the platform.
   B. Many suggestions have been made for the reform of the courts and of judicial procedure.

II. The recall of judges has been adopted as a remedy for these evils.
   A. It is now in force in Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, and Colorado.
   B. Other States have taken steps providing for its adoption.

III. There is serious and determined resistance to the further adoption of the recall of judges.
   A. Committees have been appointed to work against it.
   B. Much literature has been disseminated in opposition.
   C. President Taft refused to admit Arizona to statehood until the clause providing for the recall of judges had been eliminated from her Constitution.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. There are many evils in our present judiciary system.
   A. The expense and delay of litigation is too great.
   B. Decisions are based on legal technicalities and outworn precedent rather than reason and common sense.
   C. The courts have usurped legislative functions.
   D. The judiciary has become the bulwark of special privilege.

II. The recall of judges is needed to correct these evils.
   A. Impeachment has failed as a remedy.
   B. The fact that the recall could be exercised would cause the judges to feel more keenly their responsibility to the people.
   C. Corrupt and inefficient judges would be deprived of office.
   D. The good judge would be protected in the performance of duty.
   E. The courts would be removed from the influence of corrupt interests.

III. The recall of judges is desirable for other reasons.
  A. It is the application of good principle to government affairs.
  B. It is constitutionally sound.
    1. It is consistent with the republican theory of government.
    2. It has proved constitutional in the states where it has been exercised.
    3. There is sound precedent in our governmental institutions for its use.
  C. It would be beneficial to the people.
    1. It would restore the confidence of the people in the courts.
    2. It would arouse people to a more intelligent study of the candidates.
  D. Short terms and frequent elections of the judicial officials would be unnecessary if the recall were available.
    1. Judges could be elected for life, subject only to removal for inefficiency or malfeasance in office.

IV. The recall of judges is not dangerous as has been asserted.
  A. It would not be abused.
    1. People are conservative and would use it only on great provocation.
    2. They are capable of using is wisely.
      a. They are as competent to recall as to elect.
    3. It would not be a tool of vicious interests.
      a. If this were the case, these interests would not fight it so bitterly.
  B. It would be exercised sparingly.
    1. The fact that it could be utilized if necessary would generally be sufficient.
  C. The rights of the minority would not be disregarded.
    1. They would be safeguarded as they now are by the sense of responsibility and justice of the majority which is the preservation of the law at all times.

NEGATIVE

I. The evils of our judiciary system have been much exaggerated.
  A. The courts have not usurped power to declare legislation unconstitutional.
  B. They are not reactionary and unprogressive.
    1. It is their business to declare law and not to make it.
  C. Many of the so-called evils are inherent in society and will remain so long as the people are human.

II. Such evils as do exist can be remedied without resort to the recall of judges.

A. Members of the bench and bar are already working to reform judicial procedure.
B. The existing remedies of impeachment and removal for cause can be made more effective.
C. The power of the courts to interpret statutes and to nullify laws by majority vote can be removed.

III. The recall of judges would be undesirable for many reasons.
A. It is inconsistent with our republican form of government.
1. Ours is a representative and not a pure democracy.
B. The independence of judges would be destroyed.
1. Decisions would be influenced by popular sentiments.
2. The right of the minority would be subject to the will of the majority.
3. Constitutional guarantees would be endangered.
C. It would be unfair to the judges.
1. The method of procedure does not provide for a fair trial.
2. Passions and feeling would prevail in the election instead of judgment.
3. There would be a loss of respect for the judiciary.
D. It would be difficult to induce good men to serve as judges.
E. The evils of our present system would increase rather than decrease.
1. The uncertainties of litigation would be increased.
2. The courts would become the tool of the bosses and corrupt interests.
F. The people are not capable of exercising the recall wisely.
1. They cannot understand the intricacies of the law.
2. They are too indifferent to take the trouble to secure correct information about the candidates.
3. If people do not elect good officials, they cannot be trusted to recall those who prove unworthy.
4. Recall elections would be left to the bosses and those in control of the nominations.

IV. The recall of judges does not stand the test of experience.
A. The instances where it has been used show it to be vicious.
B. Judges elected for life have been shown to be superior to those subject to frequent re-election or recall.

General References

In using the references indicated below and throughout this chapter, it should be noted that in the case of periodicals the number standing to the left of the colon (:) stands for the volume; the numbers to the right of the colon (:) for the pages in the volume. For example,

the first reference below to the *Annals of the American Academy* is to volume 38, pages 833 to 838, being in the November number for 1911.

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Annals of the American Academy. 43:3-16. S. '12. Function of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. Jonathan Bourne, Jr.

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What is Progress in Politics? Address before the Commercial Club, Chicago, December 14, 1912. Nicholas M. Butler.

United States. 62nd Congress, 3rd Session. Senate Doc. No. 1108, 30 pp. Constitution of the United States: Its Friends and Foes. Franklin W. Collins.

Young, N. C. Shall We Change Our Plan of Government? United States. 62nd Congress, 2nd Session. Senate Doc. No. 865.

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Note. Congressional Documents and Speeches from the Congressional Record may be secured from North Carolina Congressmen and Senators.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Resolved, That the constitution and present school law of North Carolina should be so amended as to require all children between the ages of seven and fourteen, inclusive, who are not physically unable, to attend school six months each year.

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The State should have the legal right to enforce as complete education as possible of all children, because the efficiency of its citizenship would thereby be increased.

The State should have the legal right to insist that public money spent upon the public school system for the education of all children of school age should accomplish the end sought. The present law has resulted in an improvement in this particular. Its extension would result in a still greater improvement.

Compulsory education within the new limitations suggested would increase the school enrollment and lengthen the time spent in school by each school child. From comparative statistics it has been shown that North Carolina's average in these two important respects has been very low.

Compulsory education causes school attendance to be more regular This, in North Carolina, has been very irregular, and under the present North Carolina law the machinery for the strict enforcement of the attendance feature has not been properly provided for.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

Such an extension of the present law would result in the further infringement of individual liberty. It would be especially burdensome upon very small children who lived at a distance from the school house.

Compulsory attendance makes discipline in the schools more difficult because of the discord occasioned by pupils who are unwilling to attend. Parents also occasion discord if their children are forced to attend against their will.

Such extension of the law would result in further over-crowding of school houses and classes. Unless more money is provided for the schools the present number of teachers could not teach the increased numbers. This would result in very inefficient teaching.

During 1913, in some counties in North Carolina, it was difficult to secure sufficient teachers for all the schools. Unless better salaries are paid, this condition would be intensified under the proposed measure.

Other measures than the one proposed are in part responsible for the lack of attendance. School houses could be more centrally located; greater interest could be taken in the school by the committee and leading citizens; the teacher could study local conditions more carefully and become more closely allied with the interests of the community. This would count for more than enforced, involuntary attendance.

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INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Resolved, That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow the initiative and referendum in state-wide legislation.

INTRODUCTION

Certain evils existing in the various state governments have aroused wide-spread discussion as to the possible means of their elimination. Many statesmen and reformers are advocating, as a remedy, the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

The fundamental idea behind the initiative is that the voters in the state may at their own option suggest and vote upon given measures, irrespective of any action by the state legislature. If a majority of those casting ballots vote in favor of the measure, it becomes a law. If a majority be against a measure, it does not become a law.

The referendum operates in much the same way. If the legislature passes a measure which does not meet with popular approval, the voters may by means of the referendum have the question submitted to popular vote. The legislature is forced to abide by the decision of the voters as expressed at the election.

The initiative and referendum are in use in foreign countries and in a number of American states and cities.

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The initiative and referendum are logical and natural outgrowths in the development of American government. They are in harmony with the development that has preceded them. They begin at the points where the previous reform measures leave off.

The initiative and referendum will secure better government. They will raise the standard of citizenship. They will put legislation on a business-like basis. They will do away with undesirable legislation, either intentional or unintentional.

The initiative and referendum are practical. They require only the ordinary election machinery. They are exceedingly simple in operation. They are comparatively inexpensive.

The initiative and referendum have proved uniformly successful; for "Boss" rule has been eliminated in South Dakota. Granting of special privileges has been prevented in Oklahoma. Corporate domination has been done away with in Oregon. Switzerland has been signally successful in using the measures.

North Carolina needs the iniative and referendum. Many sorely needed state-wide laws have failed of enactment whose passage would be hastened by the adoption of this amendment. The passage of this amendment would have a salutary effect in that the legislature would then be compelled to listen closely to the people in the making of laws.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

The initiative and referendum are contrary to the fundamental principles of American government; for they strike at the very root of representative government. They encourage hasty and unwise action.

The argument that the initiative and referendum will secure better government is not valid. It is a very simple matter to secure fraudulent signatures on initiative and referendum petitions. The initiative and referendum give a hasty and immature tone to legislation.

The initiative and referendum are impractical in actual operation. Voters have failed to show any permanent increased interest in public affairs. Voters have been very superficial in their investigations of pending problems. Voters have used the measures only spasmodically, and have thus kept legislatures in continual doubt as to what course to pursue. Special interests have found it comparatively easy to circularize the state and secure the passage of measures particularly favorable to them.

Present conditions do not warrant the adoption of such measures as the initiative and referendum. State governments are comparatively free from abuses. In those instances where unworthy or inefficient legislators are in power, the evil can be remedied by the voters coming to the polls and electing good men to office. The responsibility rests entirely with the people even at the present time.

North Carolina does not need the initiative and referendum. If there were a vital need, as the affirmative contends, for the state-wide laws they propose, it would long ago have asserted itself under our system. The working of the initiative and referendum in other states is not of such a nature as to justify their extension to North Carolina.

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CHILD LABOR

Resolved, That North Carolina should enact a law prohibiting all children under fourteen years of age from working in any mill, factory, or manufacturing plant.

Resolved, That there should be an inspector with full state authority for the enforcement of all laws relating to the employment of children in North Carolina.

The present child labor law passed in 1913 prohibits the employment of children under twelve years of age; allows children between twelve and thirteen to serve as apprentices; and allows any child thirteen years of age to work in the day. No child under sixteen is permitted to work between the hours of 9 P. M. and 6 A. M. The superintendent of public instruction in each county is given the right to inspect factories but is not given full authority.

According to Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, the unsolved problems connected with child labor resolve themselves into:

1. What classes of children should be entirely eliminated as a factor in the industrial problem?
2. From what industries should all children be eliminated?
3. What regulation should govern the condition of the children who may wisely be employed?
4. What is to be done with those excluded from industry?

These propositions fairly cover the field of discussion. Among the questions that they bring up are these:

1. Should vacation permits be issued?
2. Should home labor for gain be permitted?
3. Is the age limit of fourteen years sufficient protection for children?
4. Should industrial and vocational education be made a dominant feature of public school instruction?

In North Carolina there are so many children at work in the factories who are below the age limit that the discussion of the question is important. Of the workers employed in North Carolina manufacturing plants, 11.3 per cent are under sixteen years of age. The average for the United States is 2.5 per cent. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama are the only states which do not have the fourteen year age limit. Other facts which add to the importance of the question are: the excessive hours of work, especially in the textile plants, and the high death rate among operatives.

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

No form of legitimate manufacture is dependent on child labor for its existence. It may find it an economy and a convenience, but not an absolute necessity.

Child labor is cheap labor, and cheap labor tends to poverty. The total income of a family engaged in an industry which regularly employs child labor is almost invariably less than that of a family engaged in an industry in which only adults are employed.

Child labor results in mental and physical retardation and incomplete development.

Child labor defeats the very object of its employment. It tends to industrial deterioration. Its effects are seen in the cheapening of industrial products, due to unskilled labor on the one hand and on the other to the unfitting of the adult for the best participation in later life because of defective mental and physical training.

Child labor is fundamentally wrong in that it limits the child's opportunity for full physical, mental, and industrial development, and in so doing places a burden on society.

Child labor promotes crime. Working children contribute to the ranks of delinquency a slightly larger number and a much larger proportion than do the non-workers.

Child labor embitters the spirit of the child. It tends not only to interfere with his highest development as a citizen, but to fill him with resentment and hatred toward society.

In the case of the fatherless or needy child, special protection should be given instead of permitting him to work in such a way as to limit his possibilities for future independent maintenance.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

Some forms of legitimate manufacture are largely dependent upon child labor, as children are better fitted for some occupations than adults.

Those who oppose child labor fail to recognize the fact that no provision has been made by society for the maintenance of families whose adult members are unable to secure employment in the more

remunerative industries, and who in consequence, are forced to place their children at work in order to live. To these, and to children whose parents are incapacitated for work, the opportunity to work is an opportunity to live.

It is better to have children between the ages of twelve and fourteen employed in the factories than to allow them to be idle and out of school. At present the compulsory school law of North Carolina does not apply to children between twelve and fourteen years of age, and even if it did, it would affect them for only four months in the year. Again, if the schools in North Carolina emphasized vocational training and consequently appealed to the child from twelve to fourteen, there would be more reason for the passage of the law.

North Carolina mill owners have adopted the practice of providing sanitary homes, play-grounds, long term schools, and churches for their operatives' children. The gain on the part of the mill community as a whole is greater than the loss of an occasional individual child who might be adversely affected through work.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Resolved, That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow women to vote under the same qualifications as men.

INTRODUCTION

Better education and advanced ideas of government have brought about a demand for more rights and privileges for women. One of the most important of these is woman suffrage.

In practically all of the leading countries there is an agitation for it. Nine American states have it, as do New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Switzerland, and other foreign countries.

The question presents four main issues: (1) Do women have the right of suffrage? (2) Is it best for them to have it? (3) Is it best for the State for them to have it? (4) Have its results elsewhere been such as to justify its extension to North Carolina?

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The suffrage is a right to which women are entitled on the ground that mental equipment rather than physical ability is the correct basis for granting the privilege of voting. In a democracy equals should share in determining the character of their government.

The suffrage would benefit women mentally and socially in that it would lead them to study civil and political questions; it would develop a sense of responsibility in them; it would result in their securing laws more favorable to their economic and legal standing.

It would benefit the State. Women are morally inclined to vote for good causes. Consequently corrupt measures would be defeated and corruption in politics would be decreased. Their interest in the welfare of their homes and children would lead them to enact laws favorable to homes, schools, public health, etc.

The reasons which make woman suffrage admirable in other states hold in North Carolina. Better men have been elected to office. Elections have been more orderly. Furthermore, in their effort to secure better child labor laws, longer school terms, greater library privileges, etc., the women of North Carolina need the ballot. In North Carolina women have served well on school boards. Why should they not be allowed to serve elsewhere?

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

The suffrage should not be granted to women because they have not shown their mental equality with men in the formation of constructive policies; they would not be able to carry into effect the measures they would enact; and they at present have representation in government through men.

The suffrage would be detrimental to women in that it would burden them with new responsibilities, take them away from their homes, and lower them in the estimation of men. Furthermore, the suffrage would be used by bad women as well as by good women.

Granting the suffrage would be detrimental to the State. Women who did not understand the issues involved would become dangerous tools in the hands of scheming politicians, and their interest in their homes would be neglected on account of their interest in politics.

Results in other states do not warrant the adoption of woman suffrage in North Carolina. Good school laws have been secured without their participation in politics. There is no foreign vote in the State to be offset by them as in the case of some of the States in which the suffrage is granted. North Carolina women are by nature home-makers, not office-seekers.

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TAXATION

Resolved, That North Carolina should abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on land, irrespective of improvements.

Resolved, That North Carolina should tax all vacant town lots and unimproved country land at their full value.

Resolved, That North Carolina should adopt the Houston plan of taxation, whereby revenue is raised by taxing land at its full value and improvements on land at 25 per cent of their value.

Resolved, That North Carolina should abolish the compulsory poll tax.

Resolved, That North Carolina should provide for the segregation of the sources of State and local revenues.

Resolved, That the legislature of North Carolina should provide for the full assessment of all property.

If these queries are debated, it is understood that their constitutionality is granted.

Possibly no question under discussion in North Carolina today is receiving more consideration than that of taxation. Of the ten proposed amendments to the constitution of North Carolina to be voted on in November 1914, one treats of taxation and involves an almost complete revision of the article devoted to that subject. That this is the case, is due to the fact that under the present system the burdens of taxation are unequally distributed and inadequate revenue is provided for the proper development of a rapidly growing prosperous State.

The first three queries given above center around the Single Tax idea of Henry George which contemplates the raising of all revenues by means of a single tax on land. The arguments advanced by the advocates of this plan are:

It would save a large amount of the expense involved in the present method of tax gathering, as there would be but one tax and that on land.

It would increase the production of wealth by taking the taxes off of industry and thrift, as evidenced by buildings and machinery, and placing it on land, which is frequently held for speculation. It would have the effect of making more land available for industry, as it would make it unprofitable for land owners to hold land for purely speculative purposes. It would exempt from taxation the products of the laborer and place the burden of taxation upon the land owner. In these various ways the extremes of poverty and wealth would be limited and the general welfare of society would be promoted.

The effect in cities would be beneficial, because it would tend to limit over-crowding. More dwellings would be built upon the vacant city lots now held at exorbitant prices. In the country, farm owners would pay taxes on the land which they could cultivate to profit, and no more. Speculators would not be able to hold land out of use.

The poor could buy land at a lower price, and thus help develop the community instead of becoming ineffective tenants.

The Houston plan (described in detail in the *State Journal* of January 9, 1914), the results of which have been remarkably successful, provides for the taxing of land at its full value and of merchandise, improvements, and machinery at 25 per cent of their value. Cash, notes, household furniture, etc., are entirely exempt from taxation. In actual practice, land in Houston has been taxed at only 70 to 75 per cent of its full value. It has increased so rapidly in value that it has been impossible to keep the assessments abreast with the advancing prices. This plan represents a modification of the straight out single tax idea.

The practice of levying a poll tax has been discontinued in most of the European countries and the trend of thought is for its abolishment in the United States. It is not especially effective in raising revenue. It also imposes a burden on the poor from which they cannot escape, whereas the wealthy frequently escape taxation on the full valuation of land and other property.

The question of segregation of the sources of revenue is comparatively new in North Carolina. It proposes to use the revenue for the maintenance of the State government and State institutions from sources of a State-wide nature, such as incomes, corporations, franchises, inheritances, etc., and the revenue for town and county governments from local sources, such as real estate and personal property.

The demand for a skilled equalization board and a more effective method of assessment of all property has risen out of the failure of the present system to equalize assessments and to place all property on the tax books. An efficient board of equalization would be able to fix standards by which assessments in all the counties and townships of the State would be unified.

The literature on these various problems is constantly growing. The following are sources from which information may be secured:

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COMMISSION FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT

Resolved, That the commission form of city government should be adopted in every city in North Carolina having over 7,500 inhabitants.

Resolved, That the city of————should adopt the commission form of government.

The characteristic features of city government in cities which have not adopted the commission form are: The city is divided into small division or wards from each of which an alderman is elected. The city council is composed of these aldermen, who serve without pay, and a paid mayor who is elected at large. The aldermen enact ordinances, or pass city legislation, which the mayor and those who hold positions under him enforce.

Under the commission form the commission is made up of a few men (usually three) of whom one is chairman or mayor and the others commissioners. They are all elected from the city at large. They devote their whole time to the city's business and are paid regular salaries. They both enact city regulations and carry them out.

Advocates of the commission plan contend that it is desirable because it fixes responsibility both in legislation and administration. It is efficient, it is direct, it promotes the welfare of the city, and is economical. It is democratic, and it brings the services of strong, aggressive business men to the administration of the city's affairs.

The opponents of city government by commission argue that it is contrary to the spirit of American government which provides for the separation of the legislative and executive divisions; that the number of commissioners is so small that the needs of all the sections of the city

cannot be noted; that it places too much legislative and administrative power in the same hands; that it makes political graft on a large scale possible; and that it does not eliminate evils which could not just as effectively be eliminated under the prevailing plan.

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RURAL CREDIT AND AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

Resolved, That the farmers of————should form a co-operative rural credit association.

Resolved, That the farmers of————should form a co-operative association for the buying of supplies, farm implements, and machinery.

Resolved, That the farmers of————should form a co-operative marketing association.

Resolved, That the farmers of————should form a co-operative creamery.

Resolved, That the farmers of————should form a co-operative breeding association.

While this general topic may not admit of a formal debate, it can be discussed with very great profit by every farmers' organization in the State. The literature on the subject which will aid in making such discussions clear and intelligent is growing daily. The following will be found to be useful sources of information.

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Bliss, W. P. D. Encyclopedia of Social Reform, pp. 294-313.

Butterfield, K. L. Chapters in Rural Progress. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1908. $1.00.

Conference for Education in the South. Proceedings of the 15th Confernce, 1912; Proceedings of the 16th Conference, 1913, 725 Southern Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Coulter, J. L. Co-operation among the Farmers. N. Y., Sturgis & Walton Company, 1911. 75c.

Fay, C. R. Co-operation at Home and Abroad. N. Y., Macmillan Company, 1908. $3.00.

Myrick, Herbert. Co-operative Finance. N. Y., Orange Judd Company, 1912.

Plunkett, Sir Horace. Rural Life Problems of the United States. N. Y., Macmillan Company, 1910. $1.25.

Powell, G. H. Co-operation in Agriculture. N. Y., Macmillan Company, 1913. $1.50. Very comprehensive, especially as to American Co-operation.

United States. 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Doc. 572. Agricultural Credit. Senate Doc. 574. Systems of Rural Co-operative Credit. Senate Doc. 855. International Institute of Agriculture. Senate Doc. 891. Agricultural Credit Banks. 62nd Congress, 3rd Session. Senate Doc. 967. Preliminary Report on Land and Agricultural Credit in Europe. Senate Doc. 1001. Farm Credits. Senate Doc. 966. European Co-operative Credit Systems. Senate Doc. 1435. Notes on Agricultural Systems Abroad. 63rd Congress. 1st Session. Senate Doc. 214. Agricultural Co-operation and Rural Credit in Europe, being the Information and Evidence secured by the American Commission. This preliminary report contains 916 pages. For information concerning these documents address your Senators or Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, Chairman of the Commission.

Wolff, H. W. Co-operation in Agriculture. London. P. S. King & Son, 1912. $1.50.

The most recent publication is the statement of C. W. Thompson, Part I., given at the hearing before the Sub Committee of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives on Dec. 3-4, 1913. It can be secured from Representatives and Senators or from the Superintendents of Documents, Washington, D. C.

GOOD ROADS

(The outlines concerning roads are furnished by the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, Chapel Hill, N. C.)

Resolved, That for most counties in North Carolina the bond issue is the most feasible way of obtaining funds for road construction; and that the county should be the unit rather than the township.

AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENT

1. Because it is the quickest way to get a system of roads for a county and relieves the county from a bad roads tax. (See Economic Paper, No. 27 of the N. C. Geological and Economic Survey, pp. 123-127.

2. It is generally considered good policy to borrow money in order to improve or augment a business and to buy by wholesale rather than retail; the same applies to the building of improved roads, as a system covering a large area involving the expenditure of a considerable sum of money can be built much cheaper per mile than when the mileage to be built is limited and the funds are limited, so that only a mile or two of improved road can be built each year.

3. A bond issue large enough to build a county system of improved roads can be taken care of by a county with greater ease than by a special tax (except where the county contains a large city); because the tax necessary to pay interest on the bonds and create a sinking fund would be considerably less than a road tax which would yield enough to enable the county to build more than a small mileage of good roads each year and maintain in a slight degree the old dirt roads. This is particularly true of most of the North Carolina counties, as few of them have any large towns which would yield very much money from taxation for building county roads.

4. As the next generation will reap the benefit of a system of well-located and constructed roads, the advocates of this system for securing road funds hold that it should bear a proportion of the cost of location and construction of such roads; and the bond issue plan carries out this idea.

5. The county is able to sell its bonds at a much cheaper rate of interest than the township, and there is also a readier market for county than for township bonds.

6. With the county as a unit there would be less expense in the administration of road matters than if each township should have its own road commission, road engineer, road equipment, etc.

7. The convict camp can be more easily and economically handled with the county force as the unit.

8. The county can afford to employ a competent road engineer, whereas it would be impossible for each township to employ such a man permanently; and, without a competent road engineer, the road fund will be spent to little or no advantage.

9. Perhaps the greatest objection to any sub-division being used, except the county, is the fact that if townships begin to use bonds for their road construction (and it is always the richer townships that start such a move) it will result in the richer townships getting good roads and make it almost impossible for the remaining townships to get their roads for many years, or even generations to come. The richer townships will get their roads and will not care to help with roads for adjacent townships.

REFERENCES

Good Roads Circular Nos. 52, 78, 79, 90, and 92, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Economic Paper No. 27 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, pp. 45-46, 123-127; Economic Paper No. 30, pp. 68-71.

Southern Good Roads, October, 1912, pp. 22-24.

OTHER ROAD QUESTIONS

Resolved, That the administration of county road matters should be in the hands of a non-political board or commission.

REFERENCES

Economic Papers Nos. 27 and 30 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Good Roads Circulars Nos. 68, 81, and 90 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Resolved, That all dirt and surfaced roads should be maintained and to assist this maintenance, there should be a State law regulating width of tires of all vehicles using the public roads.

REFERENCES

Economic Paper No. 30 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Southern Good Roads, October, 1912, pp. 5-8.

GENERAL REFERENCES ON ROAD QUESTIONS

Good Roads Circular Nos. 65, 68, 70, and 95 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Economic Papers Nos. 27 and 30 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Southern Good Roads, August, 1911, pp. 5-9.

Bulletin No. 24 of the U. S. Office of Public Roads, giving Proceedings of the North Carolina Good Roads Convention held in Raleigh, February, 1902.

Bulletin No. 22 of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction—"Civic Days." (This should be in the Library of every school, as it has been distributed amongst the schools).

ENGINEERING ASSISTANCE TO COUNTIES

Resolved, That the State should furnish engineering assistance to counties.

In each state of the Union, which has begun to undertake seriously to solve its road problems, state aid has been adopted in some form or other. In most cases highway commissions have been established, or highway departments in the Geological Surveys have been given appropriations varying from $50,000 to $1,000,000 annually to assist the counties in their road building. Some states are furnishing state convicts to counties; others help in the actual construction of the roads; while others furnish engineers to counties or townships for the location and supervision of the construction of roads and bridges.

A state should furnish at least engineering assistance and have supervision of the location and construction of the public roads. Such a form of State aid will provide:

1. Competent engineers for locating roads, giving advice as to their construction and assisting in the organization of a system of maintenance.

2. Testing materials in various sections and determining their value for road surfacing purposes and advising the county authorities as to the most suitable and economical materials for their own particular section.

3. Assistance to counties and townships in drawing up specifications for contracting certain parts of their road work; as grading, drainage, and, in some cases, surfacing.

4. Inspection of completed work to see if specifications have been carried out.

5. Advice and suggestions to county officials as to the kind of road machinery needed and what machinery to use which would be to the advantage of the county.

6. Advice and assistance to counties in connection with bridge work, helping them to draw up specifications, etc.

7. Each State engineer would be efficiently supervised, whereas the county engineer is responsible only to the county authorities and, in most cases, county authorities have not the expert knowledge which would make them capable judges of the work done.

8. The use of the State engineer in locating county roads will tend to eliminate local politics, which have hitherto played such a disastrous part in the proper location of our roads. During the past decade we have wasted in repairing old roads (located by Indians, buffaloes, or by old property lines, with grades running from 6 to 10 or 12 per cent) from six to ten million dollars.

State engineering assistance and supervision will result in:

1. Great saving in the expenditure of the money derived from a bond issue or special tax.

2. Roads properly located, irrespective of personal interests or politics.

3. Roads constructed out of the best and most economical materials available for each county. Only a skilled engineer of wide experience is capable of judging as to the proper materials for the construction of good, permanent roads.

4. The advantage of the most up-to-date knowledge in road building, as such a department will keep in touch with all modern mothods of road building, bridge building, etc., and conduct experiments of its own to ascertain whether such methods can be used economically and effectively in the different sections of North Carolina.

REFERENCES

Good Roads Circular Nos. 61, 68, and 91 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Economic Paper No. 30 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, pp. 20-22.

Southern Good Roads, April, 1910, pp. 5-7; January, 1911, pp. 19-20; January, 1911, pp. 23-26; February, 1911, pp. 10-11; June, 1911, pp. 5-8; September, 1912, pp. 8-16; December, 1912, pp. 5-11.

"State Supervision and State Aid," Ohio Highway Department, Bulletin No. 4, 1905.

CONVICT LABOR

Resolved, That State convicts should be used in the construction of public roads:

Any labor that may be required of the convict that is in direct competition with free labor is not to the best interest of the citizens of the State, inasmuch as it is liable to cause an unsettled condition amongst the laborers with which the convict labor is in competition. The work that the convict does should be of such a nature that the people of the State could feel that they are deriving some direct benefit from it. The methods used by so many States in working their convicts, such as in manufacturing establishments, in mines, on farms, in turpentine forests, and in the construction of railroads, do not employ the convicts in a work out of which the State derives direct benefit and the work is largely in the interest of individuals and private corporations.

Considering the scarcity of labor in our rural sections, this is one employment of convict labor which for many years to come will not in any way be in competition with free labor.

Such employment engages the convict in healthful occupation. It is believed by those advocating this outdoor work for convicts that it not only improves the physical health of the convicts but, in many instances, their experiences as road builders have improved their general character and prepared them for better citizenship.

It is believed that work on the public roads is the best possible punishment for all kinds of criminals; and that, in the end, it is the best solution for the care of the convicts of all classes. There are sufficient types of work connected with public road work, so that the more intelligent and better educated men who are convicted of crime can act as foremen, superintendents, bookkeepers, blacksmiths, machinists, etc.

REFERENCES

Southern Good Roads, October, 1910, p. 18; November, 1910, pp. 29-32; November, 1910, pp. 10-12; December, 1910, pp. 3-5; June, 1912, pp. 16-18; December, 1912, pp. 12-13 and 18-19; September, 1913, pp. 22-23.

Economic Paper No. 27 of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, pp. 67-72; No. 30, pp. 25-37.

Biennial Report of the State Geologist, 1911-12, pp. 55-56.

Year Book of the Department of Agriculture for 1901, pp. 321-330.

OTHER PRISON QUESTIONS

Resolved, That North Carolina should adopt a complete system of Prison Parole.

Resolved, That North Carolina should pay the dependents of prisoners in the State prison a fair wage for the work of the prisoners.

REFERENCES

North Carolina, Board of Charities. Annual Report, Raleigh, N. C.

State Journal. January 23, 1914. Economics of Convict Labor in Road Construction. Joseph Hyde Pratt.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. March, 1913, 188 pp. contributed by 33 authors devoted to every phase of prison labor and prison reform.

Conference for Charities and Corrections. Proceedings, 1912.

Survey. January 11, 1913. Results of Parole Law in Indiana.

RACE SEGREGATION

Resolved, That North Carolina should enact that wherever in the State the greater part of the land acreage in any given district that may be laid off is owned by one race, the majority of the voters in such a district may say that in the future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race; provided, such action is approved or allowed (as being justified by consideration of the peace, protection, and social life of the community), by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners.

Resolved, That the formation of separate communities for whites and blacks in North Carolina is desirable.

Interest in this question is new, dating back only to the middle of 1913, when Mr. Clarence Poe, Editor of the *Progressive Farmer,* stated the proposition in a series of editorial comments beginning in June and running throughout the year.

In an article by Gilbert T. Stephenson, of Winston-Salem, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for January, 1914, the whole history of the movement in the cities of the South is given.

The proposition looks, first of all, to the saving of the rural South to the white race. It does not contemplate separation by large districts, but to neighborhood groupings, the purpose being to enable whites and negroes to provide better support for their own schools, churches,

and neighborhood enterprises. Another object is the development of higher standards of efficiency and living for both races. No oppression of the negro is intended, but it is proposed that the whites in the rural South shall have the opportunity of building up communities without being subject to those disadvantages which arise from the incoming of an excessive negro population, whether of tenants or land owners.

The movement is in keeping with the custom now prevailing voluntarily in the majority of American cities in which the different races almost invariably live in separate sections. In Atlanta, Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, and other cities, ordinances have been passed embodying the idea of the query appearing above.

Its advocates, whose views are expressed in the *Progressive Farmer* for June 7, July 12, 26, August 2, 9, 23, 30, September 20, 27, October 4, November 18, December 6, 1913, and possibly other numbers, advance the following reasons in its support: It will give white farmers and their families safety and protection; it will give them better schools and churches; it will open the way for co-operation and co-operative enterprises; it will improve moral conditions in the relation of the races; it will give the rural South a greater proportion of white people: (1) by stopping the crowding out of white farmers by negroes, and (2) by providing all-white communities such as white people will care to move into, either as laborers, tenants, or land owners.

Opposition of a real determined kind has not shown itself. On the part of some, it has been objected that the propaganda will result in stirring up race prejudice. It is also pointed out that it is unfair to the negro to restrict him so closely, as he needs the example of the white man to follow in his upbuilding.

The State Journal of August 2nd, in stating its opinion on the question, takes the position that the premise that it is the negro who is driving the white man from the country is incorrect, and that artificial segregation by statute will not produce the result contemplated. It finds that negro tenancy is apt to cause more trouble than negro ownership; that the whites go to the towns because the South is developing manufacturing industries for which the whites are well fitted whereas the negroes are not; and that the real reason is high priced land usually held by absentee landlords to whom the whites will not pay as excessive rents as will the negroes and to whom they will not pay exorbitant prices for small holdings. Another cause assigned for the drift to the city is that the whites are unwilling to undergo the drudgery of farm labor.

Questions for Debate

As indicated in the last chapter of this handbook, material on many of the following suggested questions may be secured from the Library of the University and the North Carolina Library Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

Capital Punishment

Resolved, That the Federal Constitution should be amended to prohibit capital punishment in the United States.

Closed Shop

Resolved, That the movement for the closed shop in the United States should receive the support of public opinion.

Compulsory Arbitration of Industrial Disputes

Resolved, That capital and labor should be compelled to settle their disputes in legally established courts of arbitration.

Conservation

Resolved, That the federal control of our natural resources should be strengthened and extended.

Corrupt Practices Act

Resolved, That North Carolina should enact an effective corrupt practices act.

County Problems

Resolved, That the absentee landlord is a menace to the economical development of a community.

Resolved, That————county should set apart two days annually for the public discussion of its economic, social, educational, and religious problems.

Resolved, That————county should hold an annual county fair.

Resolved, That all county officers in————county should be nominated through a legalized direct primary.

Resolved, That————county in which the public library of———— city is located, should appropriate, through its commissioners, a fund in return for which said city library should extend its privileges to the citizens of the county.

Resolved, That the church should lead in the economic and social, as well as the spiritual life of a rural community.

Resolved, That all county officers in————county should be paid fixed salaries instead of fees.

Resolved, That it is expedient for————county to increase the salaries of its public school teachers at least 25 per cent.

Resolved, That————county should have a strict stock law.

Direct Primaries

Resolved, That North Carolina should enact a State-wide direct primary law for all parties for the nomination of State officers.

Education

Resolved, That the————high school should offer courses in agriculture and domestic science.

Resolved, That work done in agriculture and domestic science courses in North Carolina high schools be counted for entrance in the State's educational institutions.

Resolved, That districts————in————county should be consolidated.

Resolved, That————county should establish a farm life school.

Resolved, That free tuition should be given to all North Carolina students in attendance at the State's educational institutions.

Resolved, That the county rather than the township should be made the unit in voting special taxes for schools.

Employment of Women

Resolved, That North Carolina should enact a law preventing all women over 16 years of age from working in any manufacturing establishment at night.

Enlargement of the Navy

Resolved, That the United States should provide for the enlargement of its Navy.

Fisheries

Resolved, That North Carolina should have supervision of all the fisheries of the State.

Forestry

Resolved, That forest planting is the best method of providing for a future timber supply.

Resolved, That the stockman is a worse enemy to the forests of North Carolina than the lumberman.

Health

Resolved, That————county should provide a medical inspector of schools.

Resolved, That————county should provide a whole-time health officer.

Resolved, That physicians should be public officials and paid by the public.

Resolved, That————county should establish and maintain a tuberculosis sanitorium.

Resolved, That all schools supported by the State, in whole or in part, should require compulsory vaccination for smallpox of all students as a preliminary for entrance.

Independence for the Philippines

Resolved, That the United States should grant the Phillipine Islands their independence.

International Disarmament

Resolved, That the nations of the world should reduce their armaments to the minimum necessary for police duty.

Immigration

Resolved, That our immigration laws should debar all immigrants over sixteen years of age who are unable to read and write; provided, that the law shall not apply to dependents upon qualified immigrants or residents of the United States.

Resolved, That it would be beneficial to North Carolina to establish an agency for securing an increased immigrant population in the State.

Labor Unions

Resolved, That labor unions are beneficial to society in the United States.

Minimum Wage

Resolved, That minimum wage legislation for women and children should be enacted in North Carolina.

Monroe Doctrine

Resolved, That the Monroe Doctrine should be continued as a part of the permanent policy of the United States.

Municipal Ownership

Resolved, That for American cities municipal ownership of public service corporations, which furnish water, light and transportation, is preferable to private ownership.

Panama Canal

Resolved, That the United States should exempt its coastwise traffic from Canal tolls.

Resolved, That the Panama Canal should be fortified by the United States.

Presidential Election

Resolved, That the president of the United States should be elected for a term of six years and be ineligible for re-election.

Private Laws

Resolved, That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to prohibit the legislature from considering purely private and local bills.

Public Libraries

Resolved, That the town of————, having more than 1000 inhabitants, should establish a tax-supported library.

Resolved, That every town in North Carolina having 1000 inhabitants should establish a tax-supported library.

Railroads

Resolved, That the federal government should buy and operate the railroads in the United States.

Resolved, That all railroads doing an interstate business should be required to incorporate under a federal charter.

Reciprocity

Resolved, That the United States should effect a reciprocal trade treaty with Canada.

Ship Subsidies

Resolved, That the United States should extend its system of ship subsidies.

Telegraph

Resolved, That the federal government should buy and operate the telegraph lines of the country.

Trusts and Corporations

Resolved, That all corporations doing an interstate business should be required to have a federal incorporation.

Veto Power

Resolved, That the Governor of North Carolina should be given veto power.

Handbooks, Loaning Agencies, and Periodicals

HANDBOOKS

In the conduct of debating society work the following books will prove of very great assistance. If any funds are available, as many should be secured as possible.

Bliss, W. D. P., and Binder, Rudolph, Editors. New Encyclopedia of Social Reform. N. Y., Funk & Wagnall, 1908. $7.50. This volume of 1321 pages discusses practically every subject presented for discussion in this handbook. It states the positions held by the leaders favoring and opposing the measures, and gives the histories of the measures. It frequently refers to books and periodicals which treat the subjects authoritatively. It is an exceedingly valuable book to have in the school library.

Foster, W. T. Argumentation and Debating. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, Mass., 1908. $1.25. One of the most satisfactory books in this field. A copious appendix gives specimens of analysis, briefs, materials for briefing, a forensic and a complete specimen debate, a model for instruction to judges and for the formation of a debating league.

Debaters' Handbook Series. H. W. Wilson, White Plains, N. Y., 1905 to date. 23 volumes. $1.00 each. Each volume is devoted to one query which is clearly stated and, in the later volumes, fully briefed. Extended general references and specific references for the affirmative and negative are indicated, and more than two hundred pages of material on the subject drawn from authoritative sources are given pro and con. The series contains at present the following subjects: Enlargement of the United States Navy; Direct Primaries; Capital Punishment; Commission Plan of Municipal Government; Election of United States Senators; Income Tax; Initiative and Referendum; Central Bank of the United States; Woman Suffrage; Municipal Ownership; Child Labor; Open versus Closed Shop; Employment of Women; Federal Control of Interstate Corporations; Parcels Post; Government Ownership of Railroads; Compulsory Arbitration of Industrial Disputes; Conservation of Natural Resources; Free Trade versus Protection; Reciprocity; Trade Unions; Recall of Judges.

Pearson, P. M., and others. Intercollegiate Debates, 3 vols. Hinds, Noble & Eldridge, New York, N. Y., 1909-1912. $1.50 each. The three volumes contain the abstracts of speeches or complete speeches delivered by debaters participating in a number of the principal inter-

collegiate debates held in the United States from 1908 to 1912. Vol. 1 contains abstracts of twenty-five debates; Vol. 2, complete speeches of eight debates; and Vol. 3, of seven.

Ringwalt, R. C. Briefs on Public Questions. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, N. Y., 1905. $1.20. Contains in the form of briefs pro and con, the principal arguments on twenty-five of the important topics of the day, together with references to books and periodicals for the affirmative and negative given separately.

Robbins, E. C. High School Debate Book. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, Ill., 1911. $1.00. Contains valuable suggestions concerning the preparation of debates; gives briefs, together with general references and specific references, for affirmative and negative, for eighteen live queries; and outlines a model constitution for debating societies. It also gives a list of subjects on which the Library of Congress has prepared bibliographies.

Roberts, H. M. Rules of Order. Scott, Foresman & Co., Chicago, Ill. 75 cents. This book is the standard manual of parliamentary practice usually followed in debating societies.

World Almanac and Encyclopedia. Published by the *New York World,* New York, N. Y., at the beginning of every year. Paper, 25c. No single volume can be secured at so little cost which contains so much valuable information for use in debating society work.

LOANS FROM THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AND THE NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY COMMISSION

The Library of the University is prepared, as in previous years, to furnish limited reference material on all the subjects included in the Debaters' Handbook Series and on the following additional subjects: The Fortification of the Panama Canal; Compulsory Education; International Arbitration; Restriction of Foreign Immigration; Good Roads; Government Ownership of the Telegraph; Ship Subsidies; Six-Year Presidential Term; Rural Credits; Co-operative Markets; Single Tax; Whole-Time Health Officers; and Stock Law. In so far as the Library has material on other subjects it will be glad to loan it.

The North Carolina Library Commission, Raleigh, N. C., a State office established to promote library development and public discussion, has for several years operated a system of small, but complete, debate package libraries. It offers them on the following subjects: Child Labor; City and Country Life; Commission Form of Municipal Government; Conservation of Natural Resources; Election of United States Senators; Employer's Liability and Workmen's Compensation; Philippine Independence; Enlargement of the United States Navy; Govern-

ment Ownership; Immigration; Income Tax; Initiative and Referendum; Trusts; Woman Suffrage; Capital Punishment; Closed versus Open Shop; Public Libraries; Direct Primaries; Industrial Education; Inheritance Tax; Libraries; Labor Unions; Municipal Ownership; Recall; Ship Subsidies; Tariff. It is prepared to give full, expert information concerning books suitable for schools, libraries, and other organizations.

Both the University Library and Library Commission make these loans for brief periods, the only expense to the borrower being that of express or postage charges each way. Applications for material should be sent through the principal of the school or director of the society and the material should be so distributed among the members of the society as to give all an opportunity to use it.

Still further information can frequently be secured from State and national officers. In the case of the discussion of State problems, such as taxation, public health, education, etc., the State department interested in those questions can be drawn upon with good results. In the case of the discussion of national problems, such as the regulation of immigration, commerce, etc., material may also be secured by requests sent to North Carolina Congressmen and Senators. In both cases the material can usually be had for the asking and is extremely valuable.

PERIODICALS AND INDEXES

A file of the best magazines and newspapers is most desirable, and a school or society which is constantly debating public questions should have access to the current numbers of several which make a specialty of current events and governmental problems. Among the State weeklies are to be mentioned the *State Journal* ($1.00) and the *Progressive Farmer* ($1.00) both of Raleigh. Valuable weeklies published outside the State are *The Outlook* ($3.00), *The Survey* ($3.00), *The Literary Digest* ($3.00), and *The Independent* ($3.00), all in New York. Among the monthly magazines which give summaries and long articles are *The World's Work* ($3.00), *The Review of Reviews* ($3.00), *The North American Review* ($4.00), *The Forum* ($2.50), of New York, and *The Annals of the American Academy* ($6.00), of Philadelphia. The last is almost prohibitory in price, except for large libraries.

Constitution and By-Laws for High School Literary Societies

SUGGESTIONS FOR ORGANIZING

First Meeting

The object of the first meeting is to begin arrangements for the organization of the society. A temporary chairman and a temporary secretary are elected. The chairman states his views of the matter and calls upon those present to express their opinions in regard to forming a society. A motion is then in order to organize the———————— Literary Society of————————School. Following the passing of this, another motion is in order to the effect that the chairman appoint a committee to draw up a Constitution and By-Laws, this committee to report at the next meeting. Upon the passing of this motion, a general discussion in regard to the Constitution and By-Laws may take place, this to be followed by adjournment.

Second Meeting

The chairman at this time calls for the report of the committee on Constitution and By-Laws. After the reading of this report, it is well to consider each section of the proposed constitution in order. After discussion, each section may be adopted, or may be altered or amended as the society desires, and then adopted.

When the Constitution and By-Laws have been adopted, the chairman calls for the election of officers. A President is elected first and he takes the place of the chairman. The society then elects the other officers as provided for by the constitution. The President appoints the standing committees and the meeting adjourns.

Third Meeting

At the third meeting the officers are sworn in. The President delivers his address. At this juncture it is well to have an address by a teacher, or a visitor, if such can be provided for. The meeting is thrown open for general discussion by the members. The Program Committee makes its first report at this meeting, so that at the fourth meeting the regular program of the society may be carried out.

II
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

The Constitution and By-Laws given here are suggested in the hope that they may serve as a model for high school literary societies.

They may be modified and amended, shortened or lengthened, as the society sees fit. They are modeled somewhat after the constitutions and by-laws of the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina.

Constitution of the.....Literary Society

PREAMBLE

Recognizing the permanent good that comes from individual self-expression and organized self-control we hereby form ourselves into a literary society, subject to the following constitution and by-laws.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

NAME AND MOTTO

SECTION 1. The name of this society shall be—"The..... Literary Society of....., North Carolina." The motto shall be "....."

ARTICLE II

MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Any student and any teacher in.....High School may become by election an active member of this society, as provided for in Article II, Section 1, of the By-Laws.

SECTION 2. Any person may become by election an honorary member of this society by vote of three fourths of the members present. He shall be entitled to all the privileges of an active member except voting and holding office.

ARTICLE III

GOVERNMENT

SECTION 1. The government of this society shall be vested in a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Censor, a Critic, a Reporter, a Membership Committee, a Program Committee, and a Committee on the Constitution. In all cases of final appeal a vote of two thirds of the members present shall control.

ARTICLE IV

MEETINGS—REGULAR

SECTION 1. Regular meetings shall be held on.....of .....week at .....o'clock.

MEETINGS—SPECIAL

Section 2. A special meeting may be called by the President. It shall be the duty of the President to see that the Secretary informs the members of such a meeting.

ARTICLE V

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Section 1. The first President every year shall appoint a committee of three, whose duty it shall be to secure, investigate, and report on all proposals for membership. This committee shall hold office throughout the school year.

ARTICLE VI

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Section 1. At the first meeting of his term, each President shall appoint two persons who, together with himself, shall act as the Program Committee. It shall be the duty of this committee to formulate the programs, including the selection of questions for debate, and report the same to the society, and post them in some conspicuous place, at least two weeks before the date for the holding of each program. At this time they shall also read the names of those members whom they have placed on duty. This committee shall have full power to place active members on the program as it may see fit. The society may at any time, by a majority vote, modify or change completely any program in the meeting at which it is reported. The Program Committee shall hold office until one week after the regular election of officers.

ARTICLE VII

COMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION

Section 1. The Committee on the Constitution shall consist of three members. They shall be appointed by the first President at the beginning of each school year, and shall serve throughout the entire school year. In the event, however, that a member of this committee should be elected President the president shall then resign from his membership on the committee, and another shall be appointed in his place.

Section 2. Any amendment to the Constitution or By-Laws shall be referred to this committee. Said amendment shall lie over one week before final action is taken by the committee. In case of favorable action taken by the committee it shall be presented by the committee to the society and shall lie over one week before final action is taken by the society. In case of unfavorable action by the committee, the amendment may be brought before the society by its author, or any member

of the society, in which case it shall lie over two weeks before final action is taken upon it.

SECTION 3. This committee shall consider the communication of any member who thinks he has been unjustly fined, and shall have power to abrogate these fines, provided the excuse be deemed sufficient. The action of this committee shall be final, unless its decision be reversed by special action of the society. A vote of two thirds of the members present shall be necessary to reverse the decision of the committee.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended at a regular meeting by the vote of two thirds of the members present; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment be read at the two regular meetings that immediately precede.

SECTION 2. This constitution may be suspended at any meeting by a vote of four fifths of the members present; provided, that this suspension shall apply to this particular meeting alone.

III

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I

ORDER OF EXERCISES

SECTION 1. The regular exercises of the society shall be conducted in the following order:

1. The roll call.
2. Reading, correction, and approval of the minutes of the last meeting.
3. Installation of officers.
4. Election of members.
5. Initiation of members.
6. Appointment of committee to decide the debate.
7. Order of exercises for the evening.
8. General debate.
9. Report of critic.
10. Decision of the committee to decide the debate.
11. Report of committees.
    a. Announcement by the program committee of the next two programs.
    b. Report of committee on the constitution.
    c. Reports of special committees.
    d. Report of the treasurer.

12. Election of officers.
13. Unfinished business.
14. New business.
15. Adjournment.

Section 2. In the regular debates of the society, the order and length of the speeches shall be as follows:

First affirmative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.
First negative, not less than four nor more than ten minues.
Second affirmative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.
Second negative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.
First affirmative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.
First negative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.
Second affirmative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.
Second negative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.

Section 3. Every debate shall be decided by a committee of three persons chosen by the President from the members or visitors present. No officer while on duty shall be required to serve on this committee.

Section 4. This society shall be governed by "Robert's Rules of Order" as parliamentary guide in all cases where it does not conflict with the Constitution or By-Laws.

ARTICLE II

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

Section 1. Every candidate shall make application for membership in writing. This application shall be reported to the society by the Membership Committee. The vote shall be by ballot, and three fourths of the members present must vote for the candidate in order for him to be elected to membership.

INITIATION OF MEMBERS

Section 2. The ceremony of initiating an active member shall be as follows: The President and members of the society shall stand; the chairman of the Membership Committee shall conduct the candidate to the desk of the President; the President shall then ask him if he has read the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society; if he answers affirmatively, the President shall then put to him this question: "Do you pledge your honor that you will support the Constitution and By-Laws of the.....Literary Society, and to the best of your ability promote the welfare of the organization?" Upon receiving an affirmative reply, the President shall direct him to sign at once the roll of membership; and shall then say, "I hereby declare you to be an active member of this society."

EXPULSION FROM MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 3. On a written motion stating the charge, a member may be expelled from society for any of these offenses: gross misconduct, persistent failure to perform duty, continued absence from the meetings of the society, deliberate failure to pay dues or fines.

ARTICLE III

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1. Officers of this society shall be elected by ballot, a majority of the votes cast electing. They shall be elected every eight weeks. No person shall be eligible to the same office for two successive terms.

TIME OF INSTALLATION

SECTION 2. The installation of an officer must take place at the second meeting after election; otherwise his office is vacant and must be filled immediately by the election and installation of a new officer. Offices vacant from any other cause must also be filled in like manner.

CEREMONY OF INSTALLATION

SECTION 3. The ceremony of installing officers shall be as follows: The Acting President and the members shall stand; the Acting President shall say, "The President elect will please come forward." He will then put to him the question: "Do you solemnly affirm that you will faithfully execute the duties of (here naming the office), and that you will protect and defend the Constitution of the..... Literary Society?" Upon answering affirmatively, the President shall then take the chair and in similar form install in turn the other officers.

DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT

SECTION 4. The duty of the President shall be to preside at all meetings of the society; enforce a due observance of the Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules of Order; inflict all fines that are imposed on members of the society; and perform all the duties required of him by the Constitution and By-Laws.

DUTY OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

SECTION 5. The duty of the Vice-President shall be to perform all the duties of the President in the absence of that officer from society.

DUTY OF THE SECRETARY

SECTION 6. The duty of the Secretary shall be to keep a record of the attendance and of the acts of the society, and to perform any services required of him by the Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules of Order.

DUTY OF THE TREASURER

Section 7. The duty of the Treasurer shall be to collect all money due the society, to pay its debts that have been approved by the President, and secure receipts for their payment, and at the close of his term of office to deliver all property in his possession belonging to the society to his successor. He shall make a report at each meeting of the society in which he shall state the amount of money which he has on hand as treasurer, the members of the society who owe dues, assessments, or fines, the amount that each one owes, and when fines will begin to accumulate for the non-payment of these amounts.

DUTY OF THE CENSOR

Section 8. It shall be the duty of the Censor to note down the names, together with the offenses, of all persons guilty of improper or disorderly behavior in the society, to report same to the society, and to the President, who shall inflict proper fines, and to give a list of the same to the Treasurer for collection. But if there is no misconduct, he shall report that "The society has been in good order."

DUTY OF THE CRITIC

Section 9. (1.) The duty of the Critic shall be to present a just criticism at each meeting of the debate in general and the work of each member who takes part in the program.

Section 9. (2.) It shall also be the duty of the Critic to audit the books of the Treasurer at the close of each term of the Treasurer's office and make a report to the society.

DUTY OF THE REPORTER

Section 10. The duty of the Reporter shall be to supply for publication in the local newspaper an account of each regular meeting, announcements of programs, and other items of interest pertaining to the society.

IMPEACHMENT

Section 11. If any officer is guilty of neglect of duty or of misconduct in office, he may be arraigned upon a written accusation of any three members, at a regular meeting of the society, provided that a week's notice has been given and the accused has had the privilege of choosing a member as his counsel for defense. He shall be convicted only with the concurrence of two thirds of the members present. If convicted, he shall be subject to a reprimand from the presiding officer, fine, suspension, or expulsion, as the society may resolve.

ARTICLE IV

DUES

SECTION 1. The regular dues of this society shall be..... and shall be payable not later than.....

ASSESSMENTS

SECTION 2. An equal assessment on all active members may be imposed at any regular meeting by vote of a majority of the members of the society, this to be paid not later than some definite time, to be decided by the society.

INITIATION FEES

SECTION 3. The regular initiation fees of this society shall be..... .....and shall be payable not later than.....weeks after initiation.

FINES

SECTION 4. Any member absenting himself from the regular or special meetings of society without a valid excuse, such as sickness for instance, shall be fined....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

SECTION 5. Any member failing to perform duty when put on the program by the committee, without a valid excuse, such as sickness, shall be fined....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

SECTION 6. Any member guilty of misconduct, or of disrespect to the Chair, shall be fined by the President a sum not less than ten cents nor exceeding one dollar, this to be paid within four weeks from the time that it was imposed.

SECTION 7. Any member failing to pay his fines, assessments, initiation fees, or dues, within the limits prescribed in this Article shall be fined.....per week until he pays up in full.

SECTION 8. Any member of a committee failing to perform his duty as laid down in the Constitution and By-Laws, or Rules of Order, shall be fined....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

ARTICLE V

AMENDMENT

SECTION 1. Any part of these By-Laws may be amended at a regular meeting by the vote of two thirds of the members present; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment be read at the two regular meetings that immediately precede.

SECTION 2. These By-Laws may be suspended at any meeting by a vote of four fifths of the members present; provided, that this suspension shall apply to this particular meeting alone.